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ABSTRACT

The so-called "cultivation hypothesis" proposes that television content comprises an organic whole of interrelated themes and symbols not necessarily congruent with the real world. However, findings of a primary study have indicated that television news has enough baseline credibility to have a significant impact on fear of crime among citizens. Therefore, a study was undertaken to (1) replicate the television news attention findings of the primary study within an urban metropolitan area sample, (2) expand the scope of dependent variables to include citizen orientations toward self-protection and crime prevention, (3) determine whether findings similar to television news are obtainable for newspaper crime content, and (4) utilize a panel survey design to investigate directions of causality between crime news attention and crime prevention orientations. Overall, data revealed that individuals who pay greater attention to televised news about crime are more fearful of crime and are more concerned about protecting themselves. Data also indicated that persons already concerned and knowledgeable were more likely to read newspaper reports and were more confident about protecting themselves. Finally, data revealed no correlation between overall television viewing or viewing of crime dramas and people's fear and perceptions of crime and its extent, or their attitudes toward self-protection. (CRH)

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TV CRIME NEWS AND REAL-WORLD BLUES: A PANEL STUDY OF SOCIAL REALITY

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(Abstract)

TV CRIME NEWS AND REAL-WORLD BLUES:

A PANEL STUDY OF SOCIAL REALITY

The impact of attendance to television and newspaper crime news on public perceptions and attitudes about crime and crime prevention was investigated in the context of social reality concepts, using a two-wave panel survey of metropolitan area adults. Greater attention to television news was causally related to increased fear and concern regarding crime. Conversely, greater concern and knowledge about self protection appeared to increase newspaper crime news attendance.

TV CRIME NEWS AND REAL-WORLD BLUES:
A PANEL STUDY OF SOCIAL REALITY

Research on the extent to which media content affects perceptions of social reality among audience members has become rich and diversified of late (cf. Hawkins and Pingree, 1981). While the initial cultivation hypothesis (Gerbner and Gross, 1976) arguing for a sweeping social reality effect for television exposure has been largely repudiated, it turned a great deal of attention to some of the subtler processes which may be involved, particularly those contingent upon media content differences and individual dispositions of audience members. This study is concerned with television as well as newspaper journalistic depictions of crime, and investigates how those portrayals may shape citizen perceptions and attitudes regarding crime and crime prevention.

Crime, Cultivation and Social Reality

The cultivation hypothesis in brief proposes that television content comprises an organic whole of interrelated themes and symbols which are not necessarily congruent with the "real world" of society. The more exposed audiences are to television, the greater the chance for the medium to cultivate its own view of reality among those audiences. Content analyses, many emphasizing crime-related depictions, generally support the contention that television's view of crime is at strong variance with crime in the real world (Gerbner and Gross, 1976; Gerbner et al., 1977, 1978). Along with other studies (Graber, 1980; Skogan and Maxfield, 1981; Sheley and Ashkins, 1981; Lichter and

Lichter, 1983), these analyses clearly indicate that not only are television entertainment and journalistic depictions of crime far more common than their actual occurrence in society, but also that such violent crimes as murder and rape are given greater emphasis.

Much less convincing, however, has been evidence that the "scary world" of crime presented on television has a relatively greater impact on heavier viewers of television. While earlier correlation-based findings offered by Gerbner et al. (1977, 1978) suggested greater fear of crime among heavier viewers, re-analyses of the same national data sets by Hughes (1980) and Hirsch (1980, 1981), using more extensive measures as well as controls, came up with null findings. Similarly, two major urban area studies (Doob and McDonald, 1979; Skogan and Maxfield, 1981) could discern no significant relationships between viewership levels and fear of crime-related measures. Using more recent national survey data, O'Keefe (in press) found no association between overall television exposure and perceptions of the severity of crime, fear of victimization, values about crime, or assessments of the performance and effectiveness of the criminal justice system. In most of the above studies rather extensive simultaneous controls were used to minimize the impact of key demographic variables and in one case, individual victimization experience as well. Gerbner et al. (1980) have more recently proposed two additional concepts, mainstreaming and resonance, which turn attention to the impact of television exposure on social subgroups which may be more amenable to cultivation

influences, such as those with perceptions initially discrepant from televised depictions.

While the jury remains out on the effects of total viewing on the perceptions and attitudes of any social segment, other studies have attended more to factors in television content and individual dispositions among audience members which may impinge upon television's impact on public orientations toward crime, with television news programming being a major area of concern.

Crime News and the Public

Given the arguable selectivity in television viewing habits of the public, the lack of findings for impact of television exposure overall need not negate the possibility that higher viewership of particular kinds of programming results in some shaping of audience orientations toward social reality. Nor does such a cultivation effect need to be limited to television. In perhaps the pioneering social reality of crime study, Davis (1952) found that depictions of crime in Colorado newspapers were unrelated to the actual crime statistics of that time, and that people's perceptions of crime were more congruent with the newspaper reports than with the statistics. While later studies generally support the view that journalistic reports of crime are highly disproportionate to the frequency and types of actual reported crimes, evidence of the influence of crime news on the public has been mixed.

Violent crime and street crime in general tend to be the most over-reported in newspapers and televised newscasts (Roshier, 1973; Jones, 1976; Antunes and Hurley, 1977; Graber,

1980; Gordon and Heath, 1981; Jaehnig, Weaver and Fico, 1981; Sheley and Ashkins, 1981; Ammons, Dimmick, and Pilotta, 1982). While violent crimes typically make up less than 20 percent of all reported incidents, the above studies suggest they compose about half or more of all crime accounts appearing in the media. In an extensive study of crime reporting in Chicago, Graber found that Chicago newspapers and local network-affiliate television stations each allocated about half of their crime coverage to street crimes, followed respectively by terrorism (roughly 20 percent), corruption (about 20 percent), and drug-related and business crimes (less than 10 percent each). Sheley and Ashkins found about the same proportions for street crimes in New Orleans newspapers and telecasts, but also report that the local television stations gave about half of their coverage to homicides in particular, which accounted for only 12 percent of the newspaper crime newshole. Overall, newspapers tended to more closely approximate crime statistics than did television. Crime-related stories in general made up close to 20 percent of the total news coverage among the Chicago newspapers and television stations. Gordon and Heath found a similar percentage of crime-devoted content in their study of Chicago, San Francisco and Philadelphia newspapers.

How effectively this abundance of crime journalism translates into public perceptions and attitudes concerning crime is a matter of some contention, with unfortunately only scattered empirical evidence available. In a panel study of 164 Chicago area residents, Graber found high attention rates to crime news, and that most respondents listed media as their main

source of information about crime; however, recall of specific crime stories was generally low and perceptions of criminals did not necessarily match media portrayals. Another small sample panel study by Jaehnig, Weaver and Fico yielded some evidence that newspaper readers' fear of crime was based more upon the extent of newspaper coverage of such crime than on its actual frequency of occurrence. Gordon and Heath report in their three-city study that readers of newspapers that included more crime news had higher crime fear levels. However, the findings were not clear across all levels of newspapers, and potentially confounding variables were not accounted for. In a survey of 90 New Orleans residents, Sheley and Ashkins found that respondents' perceptions of the relative distribution of crimes matched the media view more than police figures, but that the same did not hold for perceptions of crime trends over time. Erbring et al. (1980) report evidence of an agenda-setting impact of newspapers on the salience of crime among readers, but also that the effect was sharply attenuated when social interactions among the readers were taken into account.

More comprehensive albeit correlational evidence of the influence of television news is reported in the above-noted national sample study by O'Keefe. Greater attention paid to televised crime news stories was found significantly related to feeling less safe alone in one's neighborhood at night, as well as to worrying more both about being burglarized and about being a victim of personal assault. The associations held with controls inserted for demographics, personal victimization

experience, overall exposure to television, and frequency of viewing crime-oriented entertainment programs. However, despite the relationships between televised crime news attention and fear of crime measures, there was no indication that crime news affected perceptions of the extent of crime in one's neighborhood, or the probability of being burglarized, or attitudes toward the performance of the criminal justice system. Interestingly, frequency of viewership of televised crime dramas was unassociated with any of the crime orientations investigated.

Moreover, it was found that the greater the credibility attached to crime news--and the greater the realism perceived in crime dramas--the more likely were audience members to be fearful; to perceive crime rates as higher; to have more negative attitudes toward police and the courts; and to be more in favor of stringent punishment of criminals. These relationships held regardless of levels of total viewership or of degree of attention to crime news and dramas.

The causal directions of the above associations remain unclear. The more fearful may watch more crime news because they find it consistent with their angst; or crime news may help create or at least build upon such fears. Or, the relationship may be reciprocal. The same causal dilemma holds for the findings with respect to credibility. What is strongly suggested by the results, however, is that the extent to which televised crime news has the potential for shaping social reality is dependent upon the credibility of the news content for audiences. The findings suggest that television news has enough of a baseline credibility across the public at large for it to have

significant impact on fear of crime among citizens.

RATIONALE AND METHODOLOGY

The present effort attempts to: (1) Replicate the television news attention findings of the above study within an urban metropolitan area sample; (2) Expand the scope of dependent variables to include citizen orientations toward self-protection and crime prevention; (3) Determine whether findings similar to television news are obtainable for newspaper crime content; and (4) Utilize a panel survey design to investigate directions of causality between crime news attention and crime and crime prevention orientations.

This research is limited because the full range of crime perceptions and attitudes used in the above study are not included, nor are measures of news credibility. However, key measures of crime rate perceptions and fear are used, as are indicators of citizen competence with respect to crime prevention. If crime news content does exaggerate "real" aspects of crime in people's minds, it may also have a somewhat pro-social effect of making them more concerned about, knowledgeable about, confident in, and self-responsible for helping to prevent crime. However, this pro-social aspect is dependent upon the extent to which crime news accounts provide citizens with information about prevention. There being no detailed content-analytic data on that issue, the relationship between crime news attention and prevention competence is posed as a query rather than as a hypothesis.

The cultivation hypothesis posits television to be the

predominant shaper of social reality, and justifiably so because of its pervasiveness. However, a view that media content categories are more important than a given medium in its totality would be supported by finding parallel results for crime news content whether in print or televised. Lack of such a finding would suggest that television does have exclusive properties in terms of the way in which it depicts crime; that is, that the impact of content per se is dependent upon the medium providing it. Results for both newspaper and television crime news content will be compared toward that end.

Finally, an effort will be made to address the continuing problem of causal direction by using a quasi-experimental panel survey design. While such designs cannot provide conclusive support as to causal direction, they can indicate which causal path is likelier to be the stronger. Crime news attention and crime/crime prevention orientation measures were assessed for the respondents at two points in time, allowing cross-comparisons of causal directionality through cross-lagged correlation and regression techniques.

Methodology

The methodology entails secondary analysis of data gathered for a study of crime prevention media campaign effects (O'Keefe, 1983; O'Keefe and Mendelsohn, 1983). The panel survey was carried out in concert with the previously discussed national sample survey.

The initial wave of the panel study included personal interviews conducted during September 1979 with a probability

sample of 1,049 adult residents of the greater Buffalo, Denver and Milwaukee metropolitan areas. The three locales were chosen to provide diversity in geography, demographics, media mix and crime rate profiles for the purposes of the campaign evaluation. Within each locale, block level sampling points were chosen by a systematic random sampling procedure offering a representative cross section of each community approximately proportionate to population density. Interviewers then proceeded systematically from each sampling point to complete a required number of respondent contacts. Sample demographics in each community matched overall area demographics within acceptable sampling error limits. The second wave of interviews followed in November 1981, with 426 of the initial respondents (41 percent) successfully re-contacted. Despite the low recapture rate, there were no indications of strong mortality bias demographically or in terms of the campaign characteristics, with the exception that women were likelier to have been re-interviewed and comprised 64 percent of the final sample.

In each wave of the panel, respondents were asked how much time they spent watching television "on the average weekday;" and how often they watched police, crime or detective programs ("very often, sometimes, or hardly ever at all"). The two crime news attention items were: "When you watch the news on television and news stories about crime are reported, do you usually pay close attention to them, some attention to them, or not much attention at all to them?" and "When you come across stories about crime in the newspaper, do you usually read most of the story, some of the

story, or not much of the story at all?"

Dependent measures can be grouped into the following areas:

(1) Neighborhood crime perceptions, including whether respondents believed their neighborhood crime rate was increasing or decreasing, and how dangerous the neighborhood was viewed as being compared to others;

(2) Fear of crime, ascertained by the item that has been the most used indicator of fear, how safe respondents feel being out alone in their neighborhood at night;

(3) Perceived likelihood of victimization, or how probable respondents thought it was that their homes would be burglarized or that they would be personally attacked or robbed;

(4) Crime prevention competence, including how concerned respondents were about protecting themselves, how knowledgeable they felt about doing so, how confident they were about it, and how responsible they thought citizens should be in helping to prevent crime.

Exact item wordings are provided in the tables below.

FINDINGS

The overall panel sample findings match quite closely with corresponding national sample results (Table 1). Once again, with demographics and victimization experience controlled for, total television exposure and crime-related television entertainment viewing are unrelated to any of the crime orientations, or to attitudes about crime prevention. Attention to televised news about crime, however, is positively and significantly associated with the fear of crime item. Moreover,

unlike in the previous findings, greater televised crime news attention is significantly related to a perception of crime as increasing in one's neighborhood, and to respondents reporting a greater likelihood of being burglarized. These results suggest if anything a stronger link between television crime news attendance and citizen crime orientations in urban areas, not only for fear of crime but for perceptions of its frequency as well.

As for citizen attitudes toward self-protection and crime prevention, more attention to televised crime news is significantly associated only with increased concern about self-protection, and not with any greater confidence or knowledge regarding prevention. An implication is that crime news viewership has the potential for arousing concern about protection--congruent with increased fear of crime, but not for providing information which may help turn that concern into positive action. In addition, television news attendance is negatively correlated with sense of individual responsibility for helping prevent crime. On the other hand, exposure to crime dramas is positively associated with such sense of responsibility--perhaps reflective of Lichter and Lichter's finding that police are often portrayed as less than effective in such dramas.

Since no measure of overall newspaper exposure was included, the findings for press crime news attention cannot be directly compared to those for television. However, it is clear from Table 2 that a distinctively different pattern of relationships is at work for newspapers. For one thing, fear of crime is not

significantly associated with readership of newspaper crime news, nor are perceptions of neighborhood crime rates. On the other hand, as was found for television news, perceived likelihood of being burglarized and self-protection concern are positively and significantly related to newspaper crime news attendance. However, so are perceived knowledge and sense of confidence about self-protection. Heavier crime news readers therefore appear no more fearful, but more concerned about the issue and feeling they have the ability to do something about it.

The findings with respect to probability of being burglarized are somewhat puzzling for both television and newspaper attendance. In the national sample, burglary likelihood was only weakly associated with television news attendance, and in fact probability of being a victim of violent crime had the stronger association with news viewership. The findings here are especially problematical since burglaries are among the crimes least likely to be publicized. Given the three-community sample used here, one possible explanation is that the news media in at least one of the locales was giving particular emphasis to burglary during the survey period.

Table 3 presents cross-lagged correlational analyses showing over-time comparisons between crime news attendance and the crime/crime prevention orientations. The conventional Rozelle and Campbell (1969) baseline comparison technique is used to help guard against spurious cross-lagged coefficients. For television news, from the first column of the table it is clear that the correlation coefficients between crime news viewership at time

one and crime/crime prevention orientations at time two are generally weak, with the two salient exceptions being for the associations between viewership and the fear of crime (.17) and self-protection concern (.18) items. Since the reverse correlations for those relationships (in column two) are close to zero, and the Rozelle-Campbell baseline value is well-exceeded, the inference is that it is more likely that crime news viewership affects crime fear and concern than vice versa.

An alternative analytical approach, regressed change score analysis, provides further support for this causal inference. The beta weight for the impact of time one television news attendance upon time two fear of crime is .14, controlling for time one fear. The reverse beta (time two news attendance regressed on time one news attendance and fear) is -.03. Similarly, the beta for time one news and time two self-protection concern is .14, while the reverse value is -.03.

For newspaper crime news attention, however, the data suggest the reverse causal path. Self-protection concern and knowledge at time one both significantly correlate with crime news readership at time two (.17 and .11 respectively), while the reverse coefficients are insignificant and the baseline values relatively low. The inference is that previous self-protection concern and confidence lead to increased crime news readership, rather than vice versa. Again, regression analyses support these findings, the beta for time one concern and time two crime news readership being .10, versus .01 for the reverse; the beta for time one knowledge and time two readership is .09, compared to .05 (not significant) for the reverse.

The low cross-lagged coefficients for crime rate and burglary probability, despite their significant cross-sectional associations with crime news attention, is explained by the fact that the high cross-sectional relationships only held at time two. This increases the likelihood that particular news coverage emphases in one or more of the communities contributed to the significant findings.

DISCUSSION

Taken as a whole, the findings offer evidence that individuals who pay greater attention to televised news about crime are more fearful of crime and are more concerned about protecting themselves from being victimized. Furthermore, it appears more likely that attention to televised crime news leads to increased fear and concern, rather than that the already more fearful and concerned become more attentive. Greater attention to crime news in newspapers, on the other hand, was unrelated to fear of crime. Heavier readers of crime news are likelier to be concerned about protecting themselves, but also appear more knowledgeable and confident about doing so. The data also indicate that persons already more concerned and knowledgeable become more attentive to newspaper crime news, rather than the other way around.

There is here again no indication that overall television viewing, or viewership of crime dramas, has any impact on people's fear of crime, perceptions of its extent, or attitudes about self-protection. However, the findings for television crime news do provide narrow support for the cultivation

hypothesis, assuming that it can be applied to one specific television content area. The telling argument here is that crime fear and concern appear shaped by televised crime news exclusively, and not by crime news overall--at least not as presented in newspapers. The evidence does not indicate that crime news content per se shapes fear and concern, but rather that the way in which crime news is presented on television--and/or the nature of audience attendance to it -has such effects.

These findings are not without caveats. For one, the sample includes only three metropolitan areas, which may have had specific kinds of crime-related events going on at the time and/or individual newspapers or television stations with particular reporting habits. No news content analyses were carried out in conjunction with the study. Moreover, trends in news coverage can fluctuate strongly over time. The static cross-sectional finding for perceived probability of being burglarized may attest to that. Furthermore, while the evidence is based upon significant beta values and correlation coefficients, they were typically low, and proportions of variance explained generally under 20 percent. While this is nothing new in social survey regression analyses using basically ordinal and single-item measures, it does allow for the possibility of numerous other potentially intervening variables, as well as largely undetermined measurement error. Standard demographics were simultaneously controlled for, but more subtle life-style variables, as well as motivational ones, affecting news media attendance patterns and crime orientations could

emerge as important factors as well.

On the other hand, a decided strength of the finding is that the results for television viewership and crime orientations generally replicated those of the previous national sample study. And, internal analyses of the crime and crime prevention measures in the previous prevention campaign study were much in line with findings from earlier empirical studies in the public attitudes toward crime literature. In sum, a reasonable case can be made for at least concurrent validity.

The disparate findings for television versus newspapers point to the issue of distinctive audience selectivity patterns for each news medium. Television news viewing behavior allows at least the consistent viewer much less selectivity: if one watches the news as a program, one has less freedom to pick and choose the level of attentiveness to each news item. Screening out one story can easily lead to missing the next, and news broadcasts tend to be designed for easy flow from one item to the next. This builds the possibility of "inadvertent" viewing of particular kinds of stories in which the viewer may initially have little interest, and reducing the impact of any selective exposure or attention patterns among audiences. In the case of crime stories, the viewer initially less interested in them, and perhaps less fearful of or concerned about crime, may be drawn into the stories with a possible consequence being an increase in the salience of crime for such individuals, and heightened response to the issue.

Newspapers provide a different exposure scenario, with readers having much more flexibility in being able to choose

stories of interest while avoiding others. The reader disinterested in crime can simply glance over a headline and move on to the next item. The more interested reader, however, can closely attend to the full story, gathering in as much detail as desired. Readers already concerned about self-protection and knowledgeable about it can selectively attend to such stories either out of general interest, or to build upon their existing dispositions.

Theory and research on these mode-of-attendance related issues need much further development. As Pingree (1983) has suggested, the level of activity or involvement in using a medium may have marked repercussions for the extent of social reality effects obtained. Specifically, research on social reality effects among children suggests that lesser involvement in media usage may lead to greater effects, an inference that receives some support here.

The potential operation of such selectivity processes should not turn attention away from probable content differences within each medium which may help explain the findings more within the context of the initial cultivation formulations. Unfortunately, the literature contains only minimal content-analytic work comparing newspaper and television crime coverage. As noted above, the studies to date have typically dealt with the proportion of newshole in each medium devoted to crime, and listings of the types of crimes dealt with. Since those data appear about the same for newspapers and television, it is important to examine more subtle differences in coverage and news

formats.

For example, television's greater immediacy and visual impact may lead to closer identification with the content for viewers--more of a tendency to see the crimes depicted as happening "now" next door or up the block. Similarly, the simplified story format may give an impression of crime as a more highly generalized community phenomenon. Newspaper crime stories typically go into greater depth and background, perhaps making the crimes reported appear as specific incidents with which readers may be less likely to identify. The more information given about the circumstances of a particular crime, the less easily a reader is apt to directly identify with it. More detailed information may well provide a base for readers to refine their knowledge about how to protect themselves as well.

In terms of context, newspaper crime stories are less likely to be presented as related events--there is seldom one "crime page" with overlapping stories. Television, however, tends to run crime stories in a continuous flow. This repetition may unduly emphasize crime as a more significant news agenda item as compared to others. Content analyses also might productively turn to the specific kinds of information included and excluded in televised versus newspaper crime stories as well.

To many observers, public fear of crime is strongly disproportionate to "real world" crime danger (cf. Skogan and Maxfield, 1981), and has emerged as an important issue in its own right with its own costs to society. The role of news media in potentially promoting such fear deserves a great deal more attention and investigation.

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Table 1. Crime and Crime Prevention Orientations by TV Exposure, Crime Drama Viewership and Crime News Attention[1]

	TV Exposure	Crime Drama Viewership	Crime News Attention
Orientations			
Neighborhood Crime Rate[a]	.01	-.04	.12**
Neighborhood Crime Danger[b]	.08	-.02	.07
Danger at Night[c]	.02	.03	.10*
Burglary Probability[d]	.09	.01	.14**
Violence Probability[e]	-.01	.07	.02
Self-Protection Concern[f]	-.01	.01	.20**
Self-Protection Knowledge[g]	-.02	.04	.08
Self-Protection Confidence[h]	-.08	.02	.05
Citizen Responsibility[i]	.00	.10*	-.09

[1] Values shown are standardized regression coefficients, derived from a hierarchical regression equation in which demographics (age, education, income neighborhood class and sex) and victimization experience were entered as the first and second blocks of variables. TV exposure, crime drama viewership and crime news attention were entered in turn as the remaining blocks. The data are from wave two of the panel in order to allow more appropriate comparison with the national survey which was conducted at approximately the same time.

[a] "Within the past year, do you think that crime in your neighborhood has increased, decreased, or remained about the same?"

[b] "How dangerous do you think your neighborhood is compared to other neighborhoods in terms of crime" Do you believe it is much more dangerous, more dangerous, about average, less dangerous, or much less dangerous?"

[c] "How safe do you feel or would you feel being out alone in your neighborhood at night--very safe, reasonably safe, somewhat safe, or very unsafe?"

[d] "How likely do you think it is that your residence will be broken into or burglarized during the next year--do you think it is very likely, somewhat likely, or not very likely?"

[e] "How likely do you think it is that you personally will be attacked or robbed within the next year--do you think it is very likely, somewhat likely, or not very likely?"

[f] "Compared to most other people, would you say you are more concerned about protecting yourself from crime, about as concerned as others, or less concerned than others are?"

(Cont.)

Table 1 - cont.

[g]"How much do you think you know about how to make yourself and your home less likely to be victimized by criminals--do you think you know a great deal, know some things, or don't you think you know much at all?"

[h]"How confident do you feel that you as an individual can do things to help protect yourself from crime--do you feel very confident, somewhat confident, or not very confident at all?"

[i]"When it comes to helping prevent crimes in a neighborhood like yours, do you believe that individual citizens have more responsibility than the police, less responsibility, or equal responsibility with the police?"

Table 2. Crime and Crime Prevention Orientations by Newspaper Crime News Attention[1]

	Newspaper Crime News Attention
Orientations	
Neighborhood Crime Rate	.02
Neighborhood Crime Danger	.07
Danger at Night	.09
Burglary Probability	.10*
Violence Probability	.02
Self-Protection Concern	.17**
Self-Protection Knowledge	.14**
Self-Protection Confidence	.11*
Citizen Responsibility	.01

[1] Values shown are standardized regression coefficients, with hierarchical controls for demographics and victimization experience. Data are from wave two of the panel. Item descriptions appear in Table 1.

Table 3. Cross-Lagged Correlations Between Crime News Attention and Crime and Crime Prevention Orientations

	News Attn. (T1)- Orientations (T2)	Orientations (T1)- News Attn. (T2)	Rozelle-Campbell Baseline
Television News			
Neighborhood Crime Rate	-.01	.02	.02
Neighborhood Crime Danger	.05	-.01	.02
Danger at Night	.17**	-.02	.04
Burglary Probability	.04	.04	.03
Violence Probability	.02	.01	.01
Self-Protection Concern	.18**	.03	.05
Self-Protection Knowledge	.06	.05	.02
Self-Protection Confidence	.00	-.03	.01
Citizen Responsibility	.05	-.04	-.01
Newspaper News			
Neighborhood Crime Rate	.02	.02	.01
Neighborhood Crime Danger	.00	.01	.02
Danger at Night	.03	.02	.02
Burglary Probability	.02	.02	.03
Violence Probability	.03	.03	.01
Self-Protection Concern	.06	.17**	.05
Self-Protection Knowledge	.06	.11**	.06
Self-Protection Confidence	.01	.04	.04
Citizen Responsibility	-.06	.04	.00